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Lakemba

Lau Islands, Fiji

By

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INTRODUCTION

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

This book is the outcome of a sojourn of four years in the Fiji Islands. Most of the time was spent in Lakemba, the chief island of Lau, as headmaster of a native school; the remainder, in exploring the whole group, with the generous assistance of Exeter College and Jesus College, Oxford.

I made it my aim to record verbatim all the information I acquired from the natives, using a kind of telegraphic Fijian, mixed with English when only the meaning and not the exact word was caught. This was a most difficult task for one who had only recently acquired a knowledge of the language. It has been necessary, of course, to condense some of this desultory conversation, but on the whole, the book represents the stringing together of native accounts regarding customs and traditions, and descriptions of what I have seen. The original manuscript, however, is preserved by me.

I must express my indebtedness to the Director of Bernice P. Bishop Museum and to his assistants, who in order to render the work intelligible to those unfamiliar with Fijian idioms, have done much arduous work which I could hardly have found the time to do.

By the Lauans, history is strictly distinguished from tales. Tales begin with the announcement *tukuni*—and proceed with *tikotiko* (there was). The narrator aims at making his tale interesting and amusing. History, known as "stories of ancient days," is told informally, but with great care for accuracy. Small inaccuracies are severely criticized behind a man's back.

The Lands Enquiry introduced an unfortunate bias into early history, various parties trying to make out that they had once ruled the land or had reduced the former rulers to complete subjection. Controversies are rendered easy by the fact that history is not remembered as one consecutive story; to Fijians, it consists of detached episodes that strike the imagination. From Niumataiwalu (p. 241) on it is possible to place many of

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these in a chronological order; from Rasolo on, practically all of them; but there are many early ones which have cast adrift from any system of chronology. Traditions of first origins are much adulterated by the recently imported cult of Water Sprites.

One point all agree upon is that the earliest settlement was in Vangandra, a hill, apparently of raised coral, which beetles over the shore between Nasangalau and Tumbou, on the island of Lakemba. Another point of agreement is that there were two brothers in Vangandra, that the elder went to settle in Nasangalau, the younger in Navuaira, but there is some difference as to their names. The prevailing opinion seems to be that the elder was a cannibal, of which the younger disapproved because the people of Lakemba were thus being eaten, so he fled to the southwest. The descendants of the elder brother occupied the North, or Natokalau; one of his sons dwelt in Nasangalau and one in Nukunuku; those two are noble in Natokalau. The younger brother came to Undukathu and his people established villages at Kukulevu, Toiovu, and Vanga.

GENERAL GEOGRAPHY

The Province of Lau, Fiji, is made up of three ancient divisions:

1. The dominion of the chief of Lakemba; the islands of Lakemba, Naiau, and Thithia, and the group known to the Lakembans as Lau and here called the Southern Islands. This group comprises Oneata, Mothe, Kambara (with its dependencies, Komo and Uangava), Fulanga (with its dependency, Ongea), and Ono (with its dependency, Vatoa).

2. The Exploring Isles were formerly subject to Thakaundrove, a district of Vanua Levu. The main island, Vanua Mbalavu, is divided into two states: Mualevu, north; Lomaloma, south. The islands of Tuvutha and Mango belong to Lomaloma, the others to Mualevu.

3. The group of islands consisting of Totoya (with its dependency, Vanua Vatu), Moala, and Matuku formed a link between the windward islands and "Lomaiviti," the main Fijian islands. These islands were independent though "turning towards Mbau."

Mbau, off the eastern coast of Viti Levu, was formerly recognized as the leading island of Fiji. Its principal chief was recognized by foreigners as King of Fiji.

Lau (fig. 1) is now wealthy because of its coconuts, but its natural food resources are meager. Lakemba, Naiau, Thithia, Oneata, and Ono have enough pockets of good soil to produce a surplus which can be exported to the islands which are miserably deficient in soil, especially Fulanga. The

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pre-Christian. The clans of Nangalingali are: Naivotavota, Tanggu, Nanggora, Matai.

The Naivotavota and Tanggu are noble and descended from two brothers, Tanggu being descended from the eldest; but no one was made Tui Kambara. The ancestor of the two clans came from Uangava (Vuanggava). The third clan is "the Land"; the fourth, which is partly Tongan, is the carpenter's clan, and to it belong the Lemaki (p. 55).

There was much fighting between the villages of Nangalingali and Tokalau for the leadership in Christian times. The present Tui Kambara is of Tokalau.

Nukuloa in Vanua Levu is *tauvu* to Kambara on account of the ancestor-god. Kambara people at one time went to plant in Lakemba. On account of the ladies the people of Kambara used to go to Tanggalevu so in course of time Tanggalevu were made envoys to Kambara. Kambara is also connected with Totoya. There is a strong connection with Tonga because the Tongans formerly built canoes in Kambara.

Komo and Namuka are colonies of Kambara. Komo, a noble land before the inhabitants were killed off by Kambara and Totoya, now has only one village. It was settled from Kambara in fairly recent times. The clans are: Tuvana, Nukusea, Folo, Nasau.

Namuka has only one village, a large one, which was peopled from Nangalingali. Its clans are: Toiovu, Mbautolu, Nawatia, Taliku, Nasau, Nanggalitoka, Sawa. The first Tui Namuka dates from Christian times. Namuka and Matuku are closely related. Namuka goes to Nukunuku in Lakemba.

In Namuka the water is so scarce that in times of drought it is brought from neighboring islands.

FULANGA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES

Fulanga (Vulanga) is an exceedingly low-born land. Formerly when its people went to Kambara, Mothe, or Lakemba, they walked stooping with folded arms. The island constantly suffers from scarcity. The people are great fishermen and excel with the fish spear. Their hair is said to be fair as a result of their constant diving, but I have seen only one fair haired individual from this island. (See Pl. I, *H*.) Fulanga and Ketei in Totoya are *tauvu*. Ongea, Ono, Mothe, and Oneata are dependencies of Fulanga. Regarding these I have received the following from informants:

Ongea was once a noble (*turanga*) land. Its pennant was hoisted in some peculiar position aloft, whereas Fulanga flew its flag below. The old men of the island used to be known as "the holy elders" (*matua tambu*). When Tui Ongea was on board a

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canoe, the sail was carried round by way of the outrigger with the result that the canoe stopped dead. Hence the rhyme:

Tui Ongea wiri kata:	The Chief of Ongea sits on the canoe;
Me kau saka i thama a latha.	Let the sail be carried on the outrigger.

Ongea ceased to be noble when Fulanga beat it in war. Since then its people are the lowest in Lau and very shy. When the Fulanga people go to Ongea and kill the fowls, and the natives go about with folded arms and stooping. The Ongeans call Fulanga, Mbauleka (Little Mbau), because it is to them as Mbau is to Fiji.

In Ono are two uninhabited islands, Tuvana i Tholo and Tuvana i Ra, the first belonging to the clan of Nukuni, the other to Lovoni.

The men of Ono were once red-skinned; now they are shorter and darker. The inhabitants of old were Tongans, judging from their present habits, for every day they prepare food with coconut cream and make an oven on the shore. Their physique is Tongan. [I have seen some very un-Fijian types in Ono, thick set with straight hair and Polynesian features.] They are good at enduring pain.

Ono has a system of levy called *vatongia;* if the chief fixes the rate of a feast at four yams, a man who has one piece of land contributes four, one who has two contributes eight and so on.

As a result of the murder of Niumataiwalu, the founder of the present Lakemban dynasty, war broke out between Matokana, the chief village, and Onolevu. Onolevu won and became chief instead of Matokana, he also became Envoy to Lakemba. A third village is called Ndoi.

Ono was settled peaceably by people from Wathiwathi, and all the clans of Wathiwathi are to be found in Ono. Vatoa was subject to Ono from of old; it is also, to a certain extent, descended from Wathiwathi. Ono used to "go to Wathiwathi" but Naiatha conquered it and "brought" Ono to Tumbou. Ono was formerly a land ignorant of chiefly ways. Now, following the example of their chiefs, they have learned manners and excel. Many Tongans reside in Ono.

Mothe is a noble land (*vanua vakaturanga*); but not originally, like Kambara; it became noble later because the inhabitants are true relatives of the nobles of Lakemba. Formerly the children of the Lord of Naiau intermarried with Mothe. It must have been daughters whose descendants live in Mothe, since the nobles of Lakemba intermarried equally with the other islands. Mothe and Navuanirewa are said to have a common ancestry (*kawavata*).

Oneata lies low and there is a marsh in the middle. At times the island swarms with mosquitos. The reef is called Mbatiyanitu. There are two villages on Oneata. Wainggore (?Wainggori) and Ndakuiloa. Of old there was only one. The clans of Wainggore are: Longaniu, Tavanga, Tumba, Waleti. Of Ndakuiloa they are Wako, Nakuli, Mbutha. Tumba. Mbutha, now extinct, were the heralds.

Oneata is not a noble land. The chief is called Tui Oneata (lord of Oneata) only since Christian times; it is the title of the district headman under the Government. The order of succession has been Mbalemalua of Tumba, Saiasa of Longaniu, Sakaraia of Tumba, Nathanieli of Longaniu. Longaniu takes precedence. The clans intermarry because they are cross-cousins.

The people do not clap hands when the chief of Oneata drinks kava. The present chiefs originated from Nukunuku in Lakemba; they came from overseas: it is so in all countries in Fiji. Two brothers came from Nukunuku; they came because they had a god in common (*tevoro vata*) with Oneata, called Tui Oneata. They were sister's sons (*vasu*) to Oneata. Manjingi, the younger, became chief; the late Tui Oneata, still living, was his grandson.

The present Lord of Oneata originates from Tonga. He is a descendant of Tui Afitu, who was a chief in Tonga. He went to Lakemba and married there. He had one daughter whom the people of Lakemba sent to Oneata. The descendants of Tui

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621 133 172 Northwest of Undu a few small, low house mounds, bordered by oval-shaped rings of stones, mark the site of old Undu, occupied, according to the natives, at the time of the measles epidemic (1875). The fortress of Thaukenaloa (p. 219) is situated on the edge of the limestone plateau southwest of Undu at an altitude of about 80 meters. Vakawangga (p. 220), a hamlet site, is located in a pocket in the limestone cliffs about 40 meters above old Undu. The Nambewa fortress is on the precipice north of the village.

Wangava

133 621 The uninhabited island of Wangava lies about 3 miles northeast of Kambara. The passage between the two islands, called Ai Vuthuninggase, is considered the roughest in Lau. Wangava is a forested, basin-shaped mass of limestone 3.3 miles in length, 1 mile wide, and 106.7 meters in altitude at the highest point. It is surrounded by a fringing reef.

In the center of the island is a brackish lake, called Sauvanaroa, 0.75 mile wide. The lake rises and falls with the tide. The lake is used by the natives for sea turtle breeding (p. 141). Fertile soil in the interior basin is used for manioc, sweet potato, banana, papaya and maize gardens by the Naivotavota clan of Nggalinggali village on Kambara. However, only a small part of the arable land, which extends over most of the northeast end of the island, is cultivated. Part of it is planted with coconuts, but most of it is forested. Next to garden crops, the main resources of the island are hardwoods, especially greenheart, *mbau*, and ebony. A coarse quality of pandanus grows on [136] Wangava. Fish and shellfish abound, and the *kekewa*, a highly valued shellfish which flourishes in the Wangava lake, is found nowhere else in Lau.

[173] A few aged natives of Namuka say they were born on Wangava before the island was deserted. Informants believe the last village was abandoned between the coming of Christianity (about the middle of the nineteenth century) and the English flag (1874), because of illness caused perhaps by contaminated water, perhaps by evil spirits or sorcery.

The village site last occupied on Wangava is Ndaitukavondo on the sandy flat at Savena, the northeastern point of the island. Here are house sites and a Christian cemetery with about 16 graves. Eight temporary shelters at Ndaitukavondo accommodate gardeners and canoe travelers passing along the canoe route from Kambara to Namuka or Komo. The inhabitants of Wangava moved to Ndaitukavondo from Nambukua (p. 221), a village site on the ridge about 30 meters above, where many stone-flanked house foundations may be seen. Nambukua is said to have been the first Christian village on Wangava.

Two hamlet sites, Toyovu and Nawarowaro (p. 220), are located in the garden lands at the northeast end of the island, and another hamlet site,

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TABLE 2. ABSTRACT OF THE RECONSTRUCTED GENEALO

Lakemba† Naivi clan	Mothe Mbutonikoro clan	Lakemba Matailakemba clan	Kamb Naivo

NDAUNISAI-Vuavakavu
Viti Levu

NGGILESO-
e. Kambara
& Wangava

NGGOMA
Lakemba

NDELAIVUNGGALEI-
Naiau
Lakemba

RAN
Wang

NIUMATAIWALU-Tarau
Lakemba Totoya
Navuanirewa

SIN
Wang

ULUILAKEMBA-Uma -Kankione
Lakemba Lakemba Mothe
Naivi Nukunuku Nasau
Tui Naiau

RASOLO -Laufitu
Lakemba Tonga
Matailakemba
Tui Naiau

TAW
Wang
e. Kar

NDAUSINGA -
Lakemba

ULUILAKEMBA -Mbiu
Lakemba Lakemba
& Mothe
Mbutonikoro Katumbalevu
Tui Mothe

MALANI -Thiri
Lakemba Lakemba
Tui Naiau Tanggalevu

TCH
e. Kar
Tui K

VAKATHOKO -
Lakemba

WANGGALEVU -Suvoki
Mothe Totoya
Tui Mothe Tovu

VUETASAU-Vakaotea
Lakemba Lakemba
Nasangalau

TCH
Kam

TUINAYAU -?
Lakemba Totoya

SISARO -Amelia
Mothe
Tui Mothe

ULUILAKEMBA -Tenumu
Lakemba Viti Levu
Tui Naiau Mbau

APE
Kam
Ngga

NDAUSINGA -Tangi
Lakemba Lakemba
Tanggalevu

NIUMOTOLU-Fipe
Mothe Lakemba
Nasau Narewandamu
Tui Mothe

FINAU -Mothe*
Lakemba Viti Levu
Tumbou Mbau
Tui Naiau

TEV
Kam
Ngga

MELISAULEKALEKA -Virikoro
Lakemba Lakemba
Tumbou Koroithumu

KITCHONI*-Taofe
Mothe Mothe
Nasau Nggali
Tui Mothe

TEVITA*
Lakemba
Tumbou

MALUPO* -Vakathoko*
Mothe Mothe
Nasau Mbutonikoro

MOSESI*
Mothe
Nasau

† The Lakemba branch is taken from Hocart (15, Appendix); the others from genealogies obtained locally (see pp. 38-
* Indicates those living in 1933.

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TRUCTED GENEALOGY OF THE CHIEFS' PHRATRY IN LAU

	Kambara Naivotavota clan	Kambara Tanggu clan	Kambara Vuanikathu clan
	AUNISAI-Vuavakavutu Levu		-Naitukuninggila Kambara Vanua
		WETASAU- e. Kambara	NAWASAMBALAVU-Lumbathi w. Kambara Kambara Vuanikathu Vanua
	RANDAUVALA - Wangava	KELEI - e. Kambara	TUWAI -Maitonga w. Kambara Totoya Mbusa Natukosokoso
	SINGAMBONGI-Ufia Wangava Totoya	SUE -Ufia e. Kambara Totoya	VAKAYAUYAU -Naitambanitha w. Kambara Kambara Vanua
sufitu onga	TAWAKETCHINI- Vutu Wangava & Kambara e. Kambara Nanggara	MBUATOKA -? e. Kambara Kambara Lomatchi	VATUUNDU-Ralcalos w. Kambara Thithia Mambula
mba galevu	TCHIAOTCHI-Watchi e. Kambara Kambara Tui Kambara Nanggara	SAURARA -Yambe e. Kambara Lakemba Matailakemba	TUITONGA -Soveiwai w. Kambara Totoya Mousa Natukosakosa?
akaotea akemba asangalau	TCHOSEFA -Tchimaima Kambara Kambara Lomatchi	ROKOTCHONI-Ulamila e. Kambara Kambara Lomatchi Nawi	TUISAMOA -Usavere w. Kambara Kambara Mbete
A -Temumu Viti Levu Mbau	APETENIKO -Riniete Kambara Kambara Nggalinggali Undu Saumua	SANAILA -Litea Kambara Kambara Nggali- Undu nggali Saumua?	THAKAUNIWERE-Tangatanga w. Kambara Kambara Vuanitavola
ue* Levu a	TEVITA* Kambara Nggalinggali	TCHIANI* -Silai Kambara Kambara Nggali- Nggali- nggali nggali Nanggara	SEFANAIA -Lusione w. Kambara Kambara Vuanitavola
		TCHONI* Kambara Nggalinggali	TIMOTHE THAKAU-Tchichilia Kambara Kambara Tokalau Tokalau Tui Kambara Katoka
			TCHOSAIA* -Kafuate Kambara Tonga Tokalau Vavau
			INOKE* Kambara Tokalau

ned locally (see pp. 38-39).

[p. 38 (B)]

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presentation of a gift of atonement (*i soro*). The gift might be whales' teeth, land, or a woman.

The following war tale was told by Moto of Undu:

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The Undu people were at war with Tokalau and Lomatchi. The strongest man from Lomatchi, called Tute, was leading the Tokalau and Lomatchi men. The Undu people said, "If you who are related to us spear us, why not also spear the Tokalau people?" Then Tute turned and speared the strongest of the Tokalau men. Before he speared him he said, "Taipioloa" (I am going to be your enemy). All the rest of the men from Tokalau ran away.

RELIGION

CULT OF THE LAND PEOPLE

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There was a marked difference between the beliefs and practices of the land people and the chiefs' group in Lau. The land people retained their beliefs and individuality in spite of the dominance of the immigrants.

The most detailed information regarding the beliefs of the land people was obtained on Kambara. The land people of Kambara formerly believed they originated from the *ngingia* tree. They were the fruit of the *ngingia (vua ni ngingia)* and it was their forefather (*vu*). When the missionaries came they made fun of the land people for believing they were the fruit of the *ngingia* tree because this tree bears no fruit, but the land people insisted they were the fruit or offspring of the tree. Natives say there is only one *ngingia* tree on Kambara. The tree is called by the title Vu (Forefather). It grows near the beach north of Undu, the stronghold of the land people. It is kept free of underbrush and the men of Undu still offer ceremonial food and kava there in times of distress. The rite was last performed a few years ago when a severe drought threatened the island food supply.

Mosesi, a very old informant who was born on the recently deserted island of Wangava, said that the Wangava land people, who are closely related to the Kambara land people, originated in the *ngingia* tree just as the Kambarans did.

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The forefather of the Kambara land people is incarnated in the red shark (*nggio ndamundamu*). It is the *wanggawangga ni vu* (canoe or vessel of the forefather). The red shark is the guardian of the land people. Its title is Tui Natakala or Ratu. A member of this group may not kill, harm, or eat it. The red shark is still propitiated by the land people with offerings on the beach or on a canoe at sea and its appearance is considered a good omen.

The red rooster (*toa kula*) is the emblem of the Kambara land people, and it symbolizes power and strength. Its title is Kula. Formerly the land people were forbidden to kill or eat it.

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The following information regarding the origin of the land people was obtained on other islands visited.

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The land people of Fulanga believed they originated from a hen, according to a tale recorded on Fulanga:

> A hen had many chicks and no food. She said to the chicks, "Why don't you scratch?" The chicks who were very hungry began to scratch, and they scratched the bottom out of the land in many places. The chicks are the people of Fulanga and the land is called Vanua Seu (Scratched Land).

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On Mothe the land people are called Vuata Ivi (Fruit of the Tahitian Chestnut). The *ivi* tree is still sacred to them. To cut it down, to cut off a branch or a leaf, or to injure it in any way was formerly tabu. The fruit, however, was picked and the first fruits offered to the priest. The remainder

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of the crop was eaten by the people. The *sokula* (a kind of shark) was tabu to the Mothe land people. If the *sokula* is seen today the Mothe people say, "That is our shark." Informants say that the *sokula* is given offerings of kava and food. According to one story, the *sokula* became sacred to Mothe when Andi Mailangi, a woman from Taveuni, married a Mothe man and went to Mothe. The bird of the Mothe land people is the *taisini*, a large hawk.

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Namuka natives say that long before the recent settlement of Namuka by immigrants from Undu, the island was inhabited by people who had their own forefather (*tu*) in the form of a white dog. This dog had children who were the aborigines of Namuka. The group was exterminated, and later land people from Kambara settled on the island. The *mbalembale* (a large fish), is the fish of the land (*ika ni vanua*). It is called Wangga Namuka (Canoe of Namuka). Formerly, when outside the reef the Namukans would call, "Wangga Namuka" and the *mbalembale* would hear and come to receive offerings of kava, food, and wreaths. Today the Namukans are the only Lauans who have lost the art of sailing outside the reef. The following tale is told on Namuka:

> One day the people wanted something to eat with the bananas they were roasting, so a man went to dive for shellfish and was drowned. A second man went for shellfish and drowned. A third and fourth man drowned in the same way. The souls of these men entered the *mbalembale* and since that time the *mbalembale* has been the "fish of the land."

I have concluded from the above that the land people of each island possessed true totems in the form of a local species of plant or animal. The group believed in its descent from the totem which was sacred to it.

The totem was incarnated in a species of large fish called its *wangga* (canoe) and also in a species of bird which was the emblem of the group. The totem and its incarnations were sacred to the group. They were propitiated with offerings by the group and protected by tabus which forbade members of the group to kill, eat or harm them. They believed the appearance of a member of the species which incarnated a totem to be a good omen.

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The land people believed not only in a local origin but also in a local abode of the dead (p. 116).

The natives say each hamlet of the land people had its own spiritual beings (*kalou vu*). The names of most of the hamlet gods have been lost, but the following information regarding them was obtained. When the hamlets consolidated into villages these gods became clan gods.

The hamlet god of Matasoata, Undu, was Tutumatua. He was never a man and he is now called a devil (*tevoro*). His sacred place was Nggara Loka, about 50 meters south of Undu at the base of the cliff.

The hamlet gods of Tonganiuthi, Undu, were two females called Iri Mbuli; they were spirits, not ghosts. Their god house was called Tonganiuthi.

The hamlet god of Nanggara, which was formerly associated with the Undu group but moved to the Nggalinggali group after the arrival of the immigrants, was Mberawalaki. He was never a man. Mberawalaki is called the forefather of Kambara, and Nanggara is the ranking clan of the land group on Kambara. Later Tapaso became the god of Nanggara. Tapaso came from Tonga and seems to have been a ghost.

Tonga of Undu tells the following tale about Tapaso:

A child was born into the Nanggara clan while the clan was living in a banana grove. The bananas were ripe, but the clan did not take the first fruits to the god. Instead they kept them for the birth feast of the child. Tapaso knew what they had done and said the child must die, and the child did die. The clan knew that the child had died because the people had not presented the first fruits to the god. The breadfruit was also ripe and the members of the clan met in a house to discuss the breadfruit. They did not want to take the first breadfruit to the god, so they cut only the lower ends of the fruit and gave them to him. Tapaso, however, knew that the first fruits of the breadfruit had not been brought to him. Some of the clan men decided to go sailing. Tapaso knew this also. He entered a shark, went to sea, and took one leg from each sailor because of their failure to bring him the breadfruit. The men on land knew that Tapaso was angry. They went to the god house and beat the priest, striking him on the head until blood flowed. The priest left the god house and went to the shore. When blood covered his eyes he bathed in the sea. The place in the lagoon where he bathed is now deep although it is near the shore. He came to another place and bathed again because blood covered his eyes. This place is also deep. He continued his journey, reached the village of Lomatchi and bathed again. Then he went to the bush, leaned against a tree and talked to himself. This place is called Numbaravi (Leaning Against a Tree). Then he went to the god house.

Another tale about Tapaso, recorded on Kambara, follows:

One day when Tapaso was very hungry he saw a mother carrying a child. He sang: "Sumolu a thava so ka vei kau yaki tou? Tawa kau mai mei, Sumolu" (What are you carrying there? Fix it for me, Sumolu). The child was given to him and he ate it.

On Fulanga the hamlet god of Nasava (formerly associated with Muanaira, now with the Muanaithake group) was Ronggoua or Ronggoniua. His sacred place was a god house called *mbure ni kalou Nasava*.

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133 the jungle and lagoon are peopled with spirits, frequently
361 hostile and malicious. Hence the two pairs of villages are isolated from each other. In the past they were frequently at war. Tokalau has long been the ranking village on the
621 west side and Tanggu ranking on the east. Today their
178 antagonism is expressed in frequent quarrels and rivalry for
578 wealth and social prestige. These villages are not old. They are composed of aggregations of hamlets formerly located
[712] inland and protected by hill fortresses. In the middle of the nineteenth century, when the elimination of warfare due to the introduction of Christianity made protection unnecessary, several adjacent hamlets formed a village which retained the traditional jealousies and feuds of its constituents.

131 On a clear day seventeen islands are visible from the highest
133 point on Kambara, 470 feet above the sea. One can even
823 discern the reef of uninhabited Wangava, home of the spirits
776 of illness, about three miles to the northeast. Wangava is a limestone island, rich in timber, turtles, shellfish, and garden land. It belongs to the village of Tanggu on Kambara. To the southeast, about seven miles away, is the little uninhabited island of Marambo, home of the "windwomen", twin spirits who assume the form of beautiful maidens to disturb men in their sleep. Marambo was formed when the devil dropped the hearth stone from his canoe through the opening for the steering paddle. Here the men of Undu plant gardens and fish for lobster. And away to the northwest, a speck on the
131 horizon, is another Kambaran possession—the tiny uninhabited
133 island of Tavunasithi, owned by Tokalau. The nearest inhabited islands are Kambara's fertile colonies to the northwest, Namuka of limestone and Komo of volcanic formation. The
[648] people of Kambara apparently acquired these islands by destroying the early inhabitants in warfare. According to the
[173] genealogies, Namuka was settled by colonists from the east side of Kambara, and Komo by colonists from the west side. Komo lies on the canoe route from Kambara to the large

1 [Northeast according to map on page xxvi, category 116.—Analyst]

4: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938 OQ6 Lau OQ6

PERIOD 2

About ten generations ago, according to the genealogies of high ranking sibs, a group of warrior immigrants arrived in Lau. The folklore says that these people came from Nakauvandra in northeast Viti Levu, the largest island of the Fiji group. Nakauvandra is the traditional home of Ndengei,[30] the great ancestral god of Fiji. The immigrants worshipped Ndengei as their first forefather. They were led by the warrior hero, Ndaunisai, who came with his brothers in two large double canoes. Ndaunisai landed on Kambara Island. From here the immigrants spread through southern and central Lau and established themselves as the dominant social group. Although the newcomers were warriors, settlement was not necessarily by force. They were accepted as bringing rarama (light) to the inhabitants who had been living in mbutombuto (darkness).[31]

Upon the basic sib unit of the early inhabitants, the immigrants imposed a complicated system of rank, by which every sib stood in definite relationship to every other sib. The ranking system was founded mainly on seniority in relationship to the leader, Ndaunisai, and on success in warfare. Hence sib genealogies were important. Rank was expressed in hereditary sib titles[32] depending on an historical division of sibs. Sibs descended from the immigrants formed the yavusa turanga (chief group). Sibs descended from the early inhabitants formed the yavusa vanua (land group).

The highest rank was held by the high chief, Tui Naiau,[33] who was directly descended in the first born line from the most powerful immigrant, Ndaunisai. The high chief was sacred. His person was protected by many tabus and to break one of these meant death. He was surrounded by strict etiquette and elaborate ceremonial. The head of the chief, his headrest, and his comb were tabu. The head of the pig and the sea turtle were reserved for him. He was addressed by a special phraseology.[34] His birth, circumcision, betrothal, marriage, and death were celebrated by all his

[30] For further information concerning Ndengei see: Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States' Exploring Expedition, 1838–1842* (Philadelphia, 1845), Vol. 3, p. 83; A. B. Brewster *The Hill Tribes of Fiji* (London, 1922), pp. 81–82, 85.

[31] According to informants.

[32] Such as mata ni vanua (eye or face of the land), the chief's herald; ndau ni nggoli (master fisherman); vaka vanua (chief of crops). Sib titles are held by the sib headman.

[33] For a legend concerning the first Tui Naiau see: G. M. Hennings, *The Murder of the First Tui Naiau* (Transactions, Fijian Society, 1917), pp. 33–37.

[34] This phraseology was in the Mbauan dialect. See Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, *Fiji and the Fijians* (London, 1858), Vol. 1, pp. 37–38.

8: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
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Levuka

POTMAKING CENTRES

323 463 Levuka village, Lakemba, was formerly the centre of the potmaking industry in Lau. The following account of the history of the Levuka people was obtained on Lakemba.

173 323 463 The Levuka people were originally two fisher-groups, called Ngone Ndau, who lived at Mbau. One group was called Kai Mbutoni (people of the flat) and the other was called Kai Ndelanikoro (people of the hill-village). The women of the Ngone Ndau were potters. The two groups were expelled from Mbau and the Kai Mbutoni went to Namathu on the east coast of Koro island in the Lomai Viti group, while the Kai Ndelanikoro went to Lakemba and settled on the beach at Tumbou. This group was called Kai Wai and from them the Levuka people of Lakemba have descended. Later the group moved to Kendekende, the old village site on the hill above Tumbou. At Kendekende were living the sibs of Thekena, Narewandamu, and Tangalevu. The Thekena sib, consisting of Thekena, Nandomole, and Katumbalevu, claimed descent from the war hero, Ndaunisai, and ruled the island. They gave the chieftainship to Levuka because, according to the tale, the Levuka people had protected the son of a Thekena chief who went to Mbau. Later the chieftainship reverted to Thekena, and Levuka, with the help of Mbau and Nakorotumboura, the Ngone Sau people of the Ra coast (Viti Levu), attacked and defeated Thekena at Kendekende. For this reason the Levuka people are permitted to wear the turban in Mbau. After Levuka the present rulers, Katumbalevu, became chiefs and the groups moved to their present village-sites of Tumbou and Levuka.

The Levuka women continued to make pots, and the art was handed down from mother to daughter. Since the group was endogamous the art was endemic, and Levuka became the centre of pottery-making in Lau.

323 463 317 Since no Levuka potmakers are now living, the method of fabrication was obtained at Levuka from Fane Loata, an old woman whose parents were Levukans, and who had witnessed the process many times. Potter's clay was obtained from Sosoilonggi, near Levuka village. The

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173 Among a people who have no written records we must look to the old legends and fables and fairy stories to give us some clue to the buried secrets of the past, something to throw a light on the mysterious and vague "time when the race was young"; and snatch, before it is too late, the already rapidly slipping cable that links us with the olden time. The fairy stories of the Polynesians were always of a kindlier and brighter nature than the gloomy legends of the more "Papuan" Fiji; and in the Lau Islands (which are quite distinct from Fiji proper) the Polynesian element may be roughly divided from the Fijian by a line running from the north-east to the south-west, having Lakeba Island and all Southern Lau (Polynesian) to the east, and the Moala group and Northern Lau (Fijian) to the west. And the farther south one goes the more strongly is the Polynesian in evidence, till in the Ono group there is very little indeed to remind one of Fiji at all.

173 It is very difficult nowadays to get the people to speak of the old times, for the simple reason that they are fast forgetting them; and even in the oldest people, old Lauan ladies and gentlemen (I use the term intentionally, for the manners of the old people are always good, and very different from those of many of their descendants), who were born about the time when the *lotu*[1] first came to

[1] Christianity.

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Lau, just eighty years ago, were strictly forbidden, perhaps wisely in those early days, to talk about anything at all connected with their old mythology. So that as children they did not hear from their mothers the old tales that even one generation before would have been so freely told to them.

However, in those islands where no resident missionary was stationed, the rule was not so strictly enforced, and it is there that I have been able to collect some of the most interesting stories.

Stories of the gods are ethnologically the most fascinating of all, especially among a totemistic people; and the Polynesians in a general sense were ancestor-worshippers, and held sacred certain beasts, birds, and fishes, wherein dwelt their gods; although they never set up special idols to them, as the Papuan race seems to have done. The value of an old legend—when established and corroborated—for purposes of ethnological investigation is immense, but on the other hand there is always the danger that an imperfect legend may lead one very much astray by setting one's feet upon a track which proves false, and only takes one farther away the more one pursues it. An amusing instance of this occurred not long ago. I was investigating the old snake legend of Vulaga Island (an island, incidentally, on which no snakes are ever found). A man told

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astonishment, and many others, all of pre-missionary times.[1]

Now, throughout all the following stories there will be seen running a strong thread of clinging belief by the people that "their fathers came from other distant lands." In the first one, "The Haunted Isle of the South Seas," we have the legend that the race came from some islands to the south-east, which seems a very likely thing for the people of southern Lau. In the next one, "South Sea Magic," the *vakadraudrau* witch-craft of northern Lau shows a Papuan ancestry of the men of that part, whereas the "Yalovaki" ordeal is a custom introduced from Samoa. In the "South Sea Symposium" the legends all distinctly show an origin from the south-east, whereas in the story of the "Shark God" the Papuan element again creeps in. Fiji is the meeting-place of two quite distinct types of Pacific islanders. On the eastern portion of it, including Lau, there is a very strong strain of the wavy-haired, tall, handsome, light-coloured "Polynesians"; while on the western portion a marked preponderance of the frizzy-haired, short, dark, negroid "Papuans" is found. The path of the latter is fairly obvious for a certain distance back, as the island groups, New Guinea, Solomons, New Hebrides, are all fairly close to

[1] It has even been suggested that the Malayo-Polynesian races are the "Lost Tribes."

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The Polynesians always had the idea of an original home "across the seas" that they came from, though in course of time this became merely legendary, and was blended into fantastic stories of the gods. In the Lau Islands they formerly buried their chiefs in great canoes, dragged by hundreds of willing hands into almost inaccessible caves; and the canoe was "ready for the chief to return to his ancestral home." Even in these modern days, when all the natives have been for three generations "converted," I have seen a canoe burial (though with all Christian rites, and in the ordinary burying ground), on a distant little island, Komo, in the Lau group.

It is very probable that the Malay origin, if a true one, was exceedingly remote—remote enough even to account for physical changes in the appearance of the race. One interesting point has been noted in connection with this: the drinking of "toddy," the fermented juice of the young shoots of the coco-nut palm, was practised in the Malay Peninsula at least three thousand years ago, and ancient Chinese writings mention it as being so. But "toddy" drinking is a comparatively recent affair in Polynesia, tending to show that the separation from the ancestral home must have occurred at least three thousand years ago.

But the theory that the Polynesians *did* spring from Malay stock, even at such an early date,

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that), said Tui Liku, angrily, for he was a proud man, and full of vanity.

"'You must,' replied Ligadua, 'you may not stay here.'

"So Tui Liku perforce returned into his body. And soon after that the canoe came from Matokano, and he returned home; but he was ever afterwards known as *Matadua* (the one-eyed one).

"And the *Dilios* at Tuvana, to this day, call out '*Tui Liku, Tui Liku,*' all day long."

* * * * *

And here the old man's tale ended—a tale that was firmly believed in by his fathers, and not a little by himself, as a true story of what actually happened. And a family at Matokano claim to trace direct descent from Tui Liku to this day.

Now if the south Lauans came from the south-east, probably from Tonga (I mean came by "drift" in very remote days, and long before the eighteenth century Tongan invasions), they would have quite forgotten Tonga except as a vague and semi-mythical place. Then, when the old home was forgotten, it is possible that some adventurous spirit from Ono or Tuvana actually did sail—with that rare occurrence, a westerly wind—to Tonga, and bring back with him these fruits and birds; hence the tale of Tui Liku.

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115 *Sagasagawalé* is not rung now," and he stooped
123 to throw another stick on the fire.

But as he sat up again he turned to me, and said a little doubtfully, "It was the Ono *lali*, sir, was it not?"

"How should I know?" I answered, somewhat amused. "I am a stranger here; you people must know your own *lalis* better than I do. But who or what is *Sagasagawalé* anyhow? But, first of all," I added, "tell some one to go and get
[276] some *Yaqona* with this shilling from the store of Joni, and a bowl shall be prepared out here." For I knew that if there was any tale to be told the South Sea kava would bring it to the surface.

THE RAPE OF "SAGASAGAWALÉ."

Soon was started the rhythmical pounding of the *Yaqona* stone, crushing the dried root between it and the large flat slab below. And then Wiliami, the Chief of Doi, turned to me and said:

*539
173 "In the old days, in the times of our forefathers, there was war in the land, and on this island and on Great Ono there was much fighting, and all lived in forts on the hill-tops, nor was there ever any rest for us. But there came a day when Matokano town, across the lagoon there, became the strongest, and its chief, Tui Matokano, ruled the land. Then there was peace, but all looked

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with troubled eyes on the burnt houses, the trees destroyed, and the canoes and other property wilfully smashed. And among other things that had been destroyed in the fighting was the great drum of Matokano.

"Now, as you know, sir, Ono is but a poor land for trees, and we have no *vesi*, the fine timber tree that is so useful to us people of Lau, and we have to go over many miles of ocean to get *vesi* canoes, bowls, and other things from our brothers of Kabara Island. But the distance is great and the dangers many, and that is why our ordinary fishing canoes, as you have seen, are made only of hollowed coco-nut trees, joined in the middle—though for long journeys we must needs have *vesi* canoes, for they are the iron ships of us Lau islanders. So Tui Matokano gathered his people together and told them to prepare much *gatu* (native cloth) and to weave the fine mats of Ono, and get ready for a *solevu* (a bartering) at Kabara. And good was their sailing to Kabara, and the gods were favourable, and they obtained four canoes and many bowls and a great new drum whose like had never been seen before. It was of rich red *vesi* wood, smooth as a polished stone, and half as high as a man did it stand. And the sound of it was better than Tui Matokano had ever heard before.

"And one day Tui Matokano said, 'Here is

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● 173 *539 a favourable wind from Vualiku,[1] let us return home while we may.' And a farewell feast was made, they launched the canoes, and on the morrow they started back for Ono.

"But that evening at dusk a *tokavuki* (small cyclone) sprang up and great was their alarm. The waves dashed over the canoes and the bailers never ceased their work all through the night. Fiercer blew the wind, and higher climbed the waves. Then shouted Tui Matokano, 'Throw over an offering of *Yaqona* to Ligadua, for it seems our time is near and he alone can save us.' [776] Ligadua, the one-armed, was the god of Matokano; but that, sir, was of course in the dark times, before the *lotu* (Christianity) had arrived," he explained, apologetically. "And he swore that should they ever see Ono again they would make such a *magiti* (feast) and present such offerings to the god as had never before been made. And then the waves began to abate and the winds grew quieter and more favourable, and in the morning they saw in the distance the hill-tops of Ono.

"And so they safely arrived home again, and great were the rejoicings when the people of Matokano saw the fine things that had been brought from Kabara. But Tui Matokano thought not of his promise, for he had many

[1] The north.

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things to do, and was very busy with his yam gardens.

"And Ligadua waited and waited for his feast, and his wrath kept on rising and rising, till one day he resolved to teach Tui Matokano a lesson. And so it came about in this way. The people were all sitting on the *rara* (village green), resting in the twilight after their labour of the day, when suddenly there appeared from out of the grove of bread-fruit trees a young man, a stranger. His eyes flashed fire with anger, and he walked boldly and upright, not as one would expect an unarmed person to walk into a strange town. Not a word did he speak, but strode across to the great new drum that stood outside Tui Matokano's house. Then he laid one hand on it and grasped the edge, and looked straight at Tui Matokano. And Tui Matokano looked and saw that the other arm was missing; and his spirit became heavy and he bowed his head in fear, for he knew that it was Ligadua. Then Ligadua looked round once at the silent people, and with a loud laugh he flew off through the air; and as he flew they saw the faint shadow of the great drum of Kabara grasped in his hand.

"And when their courage returned they looked round again, but the drum was still standing there and nothing seemed to have moved. So Tui Matokano shook himself, and said, '*Sobu*,

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173 *539 I must have been sleeping. That was a bad dream, that one. It seems to me it would be well to make a feast for Ligadua while I think of it.'

"So he turned to a man near by and told him to beat the great drum to summon a meeting of the people at once to discuss the matter of this feast. The man went over to the drum, and picked up the two heavy *yavayava* (mallets) and started to ring the call for a meeting of the people. But not a sound came forth. He looked at the sticks, and looked at the drum, and then he struck again. Still it was silent. Then he threw down the sticks in fear and fled. Tui Matokano was very angry, and shouted, 'Fool, why don't you do as I tell you,' and he himself went across to the drum and started to beat it. Still no sound came from it. Then Tui Matokano sat down in dead silence, and all the people waited, for they knew that it was truly Ligadua that they had seen. And as they waited they heard a faint sound from the direction of far away Tuvana Island, the home of Ligadua; and it was the ghost of their great drum that they heard, and it seemed to mock them as they listened.

773 *539 "And never again would the true drum at Matokano speak, though often on a calm night one may hear his soul speaking from Tuvana, and it is said that Ligadua is summoning his

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123 now? The day's work is ended, and if you have anything to say it would be well to say it in the office in the morning."

[115] "'Tis I—Roko Malani," replied the old man, drawing nearer and clasping my outstretched hand, for he was an old friend of many years' standing and a retired head of a district. "True are your words, sir," he added, "as to the ending of the day; but I have been away working in my plantation—for I can yet teach these young men how the dalo should be planted—and it came to my mind that the payment of the Government rents might take place this evening."

"No, no, Roko Malani," I answered with a laugh. "Are not all the papers and the bags of money locked up in the great iron box (the safe) for the night? The order has gone out that in the morning there will be a rent-paying, and I shall then have to hear all the disputes as to the lands."

[691] He laughed; for it is notorious that there are more land disputes at Lakeba Island to the square mile than on any other island in the group.

● 173 "Nevertheless, we know that the *matanitu*[1] will give a just decision as to these disputes," said the old man. "But in the time of Ma'afu,[2]

[1] Government.

[2] Ma'afu from Tonga made himself practically King of the Lau Islands, and was recognized as such by the British Government on the cession of the whole Colony of Fiji, and retained as Governor of the group at a large salary.

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before the days of the *matanitu*, it was not always so. When Ma'afu first ruled here there arose the origin of much land-quarrelling, and the Tongans always secured the best pieces. Though before that, in the times of Tui Nayau, and even in the older days when the 'Sau'[1] held sway, there were no incessant squabbles as to land."

"And do you remember the early Tuis Nayau?" I asked, offering him a cigar, which he politely refused, preferring the powerful native tobacco of a *suluka*,[2] which he produced.

"Yes, indeed," he replied; "was not Malani—the first chief to be truly installed in Lakeba as 'Tui Nayau'—my grandfather? His father was Rasolo, also a 'Tui Nayau,' but he was so appointed over at Nayau Island.

"At the time when I was born, which is but some ten or so short of a hundred years ago, a 'Sau' reigned in the land. It is true that the Tuis Nayau to this day are also installed as the 'Sau,' but the title they are always known by is 'Tui Nayau,' or Lord of Nayau; although we are Lakeba people, and Nayau is but an island subject to us; and if it is your wish to know how it came about I will tell you.

"You know, sir," said he, settling himself cross-legged on the mats, in the position of ease for a South Sea islander, but of torture for those

[1] Supreme Chief; a title.
[2] A cheroot of tobacco wrapped in dried banana-leaf.

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173 [516] of a Western civilization, "that the Chief of Lakeba Island may not be called Tui Lakeba, or Lord of Lakeba, for that is the title of a god —but that is another story. I have it in my mind to tell you of this Rasolo, the son of Niumatawalu, High Chief of Lakeba, and of how he was driven for many years from island to island throughout the ocean, till at length he came back to his own people and to his rights as chief of the land. I often heard from my father, Wiliami Vuetesau, the tale of Rasolo's wanderings.

"Rasolo was even an exile when born, for his father Niumatawalu (being luckily away at Cakaudrove when the family of Qoma from Lakeba murdered old Delaivugalei, his father, at a Nayau feast) dared not return either to Nayau or Lakeba, but settled at Totoya Island. And it was there that Rasolo was born, his mother being Tarau, daughter of the Chief of Ketei town.

"And when in course of time Niumatawalu, with a fleet of canoes from Totoya, came back to Lakeba and defeated the followers of Qoma, he was *buli'd*[1] as *Sau*; and on his death his eldest son, Ului Lakeba, was likewise *buli'd* as *Sau*. Now Ului Lakeba had a young and beautiful wife named Tuisala, of whom he was very jealous. And one day Rasolo and some of [846] his brothers went to the house of Ului Lakeba,

[1] Appointed or installed.

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and Tuisala was seated there, spreading the *rerega*[1] on her young baby, as is our custom. And in jest she threw a little of the powder at Rasolo, and some stayed on his cheek. But Ului Lakeba entered the house just then, and saw this, and his anger grew hot within him, for he suspected Rasolo. And he straightway drove Rasolo and his brothers out of Lakeba, letting but one of them, Matawalu, remain—for Matawalu was then still a child.

"And Rasolo journeyed first to Totoya Island, and stayed there for some years, as his father had done before him; and there he took for a wife one Laufita, and they had a son—Malani—who was my grandfather.

"Now, after a time, a great desire to return to Nayau arose within him, so he hewed a tall Vesi tree at Dravuwalu town, and made a big canoe, and with all his people set sail for Nayau; but he was driven by the winds to Moala Island on the way. And after a few weeks there he journeyed on to Nayau, and great was the joy of the people to see him. And not very long after this Matawalu, now a young man, joined him; but he brought with him the report that the hatred of Ului Lakeba for Rasolo still remained.

"Now, at Maumi, the old fighting town on the top of the cliff at Nayau, there grew a

[1] Powdered turmeric.

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173 Vuanirewa tree from a fissure in the face of the rocks, about half-way down. And on a certain day the god entered into the *beté*[1] of the temple at Maumi and spoke, and said that if Rasolo could leap on to a certain large branch of that tree without harm he should be *buli'd* as Tui Nayau. And the people gathered round to see this thing, for they thought no man could do it and live. But Rasolo accomplished it, and great was the wonder of the people. (And for this leaping of Rasolo to the Vuanirewa tree our tribe are called the 'Men of Vuanirewa' to this day.)

"And so Rasolo was *buli'd* as Tui Nayau in the ancient manner, for his fathers were truly sprung from the first Tui Nayau, the son of Tui Nawasara of Moala Island, who founded the town of Maumi in Nayau. For Delaivugalei was the son of Qilaiso, the son of Polini; and Polini's father, Kaloniyalewa, was the son of Tui Nawasara."

Here the old man was seized with a fit of coughing that quite alarmed me; but in a moment he was all right again, and simply said, smiling, "I grow old, I think"; and then he went on:

"But still was Rasolo restless and heavy of spirit, for his home was in truth at Lakeba, and Ului Lakeba ever kept him from returning. So he held counsel with Matawalu, and they

[1] Priest.

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resolved to sail to Vanua Balavu Island and seek the aid of the Ravunisa, the Chief of Loma Loma town there; moreover, a half-brother of theirs, named Kolimatua Kai Koso, was *vasu*[1] to the Loma Loma chief.

"Now Lakeba at this time was very powerful, and none of the other islands dared to rise against her; but Vanua Balavu was more daring than the others, being a long way off and half-way to Cakaudrove. (And the Ravunisa had no great fear of Lakeba, but even used to prepare a *dai*[2] for Lakeba, and cause her chiefs to bring him great stores of goods on the pretence that the mighty Cakaudrove chiefs were about to make war on her and needed conciliating.)

"So they came to Loma Loma, and stayed there with the Ravunisa, at the place called Na Kaniwai—where I have heard, sir, that you have lately caused to be built a fine dwelling-house of stone for your assistant. And great gales sprang up and lasted many weeks, as they do sometimes now, and when the seas abated the wind was not favourable for their returning; and then more gales arose, until it was over four moons that they had stayed with the Ravunisa. And Rasolo was *madua*[3] to have stayed so long, and so he promised to give his sister Sivoki to

[1] Nephew, and therefore by ancient right able to claim protection, assistance, or goods.
[2] Trap. [3] Ashamed.

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173 *cola pupu*,[1] for the Ravunisa, and also it came to his mind that this would help to tie the Ravunisa to his cause. So he sent to Cakaudrove for her (for she was a widow of a Cakaudrove chief, though still but a girl.)

"And great was the delight of the Ravunisa when he saw her, and he promised to give his aid to Rasolo. But not long after this the men of Mualevu came down to *cola rara*[2] for the Ravunisa (for they were at that time subject to him), and they gave a *meke*[3] that afternoon. And Sovoki straightway fell in love with one of them, Tui Lekutu, a very handsome man; so much so that she ran off with him that very night, and they fled to the hills, fearing the wrath of the Ravunisa.[4] Thus, though the Ravunisa had no great anger for Rasolo he refused now to aid him; so Rasolo set sail once more for Nayau.

"And after he had been some little time at Nayau word came that most of the Lakeba chiefs had risen and slain Ului Lakeba, who was now an old man and whom they had always feared. Yet some at Lakeba would still have fought for Dranivia, the son of Ului Lakeba, and made him the 'Sau'; while others wished to send for Rasolo.

[1] A Lauan phrase; literally, "to fetch the vessels of water," one of a wife's duties; hence coming to mean "to marry."
[2] Bring firewood. [3] Dance.
[4] Qoroniasi, once a very famous District Chief of Mualevu, was one of their children.

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Thus there was much trouble on all sides. 173●
And at this time the men of the Levuka tribe (who, as you know, sir, were never truly of our land, but came many years ago from Great Fiji) took council together, and with much cunning rose up and killed many of both parties, so that for some years Levuka ruled at Lakeba.

"Then one day the *Ramasi*, which is the title of him whose duty it is to *buli* the Sau, as his fathers have always done before him, met together with the *Tui Tubou* and the *Na Rewadamu*, who each also have duties when a *Sau* is *buli'd*, and they decided to go secretly to Nayau and bring back Rasolo to be the Chief at Lakeba. So one moonlight night they took a small canoe from Nasaqalau, and sailed over to Nayau, to fetch Rasolo. And they took *tabua* to him, and said, 'We have come, Tui Nayau, that you may lead us at Lakeba.'

"But Rasolo, being now aged and of much wisdom, answered them and said, 'Of what use will it be for me to go yet to Lakeba? It is not now the time. Wait, and we will get more warriors and slay all the men of Levuka.'

"And so they returned to Lakeba; but Rasolo stayed on. And twice more they sailed to Nayau for Rasolo. And then at last Rasolo answered, 'Now truly is the time. We will go to Lakeba and there shall not be left a single man of the Levuka tribe.'

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173 "And many canoes they gathered together and they arranged that Matawalu should lead them in the fight. And much food did they prepare for their sailing. But before they left they *buli'd* Rasolo as the *Sau* of Lakeba; and the manner of it is as follows:

"From ancient time Lakeba has been divided into two halves (after Delanikoro, the first town founded by Tui Lakeba, the god, had been scattered), and these halves were called Na Tokelau and Vuira. And when a chief was about to be *buli'd* as *Sau*, *Yaqona* was prepared; and then Ramasi, who was always the Tui Nasaqulau (Nasaqualau being the leading town of the Na Tokelau half) took the right arm of the chief and bound some white *masi*[1] round it; and Tui Tubou (Tubou being the leading town of the Vuira half) took the left arm and did likewise, while Na Rewadamu placed a turban of the finest *masi* on the head of the *Sau*.

"And when they arrived at Lakeba they landed at a lonely place on the coast between Nasaqalau and Yadrana and quickly marched across the island and over the great hill, instead of coming by the usual road round the beach. And one of the Levuka men saw, through the open doorway of his house at Korovusa, something white fluttering in the distance over the shoulder

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[1] Fine white gauzy *tappa* or native cloth.

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of the hill, and he called out to those sitting with him, 'What is that over there?' But they answered, ''Tis only the white under-leaves of a tree moving in the breeze.' And they were drinking *Yaqona* at the time, and paid no further heed. But it was the white *masi* of the warriors that they saw, though they knew it not. And so Matawalu and his men came round the back of the town and surrounded it, and slew nearly all the men of Levuka. 173 ●

"And some few fled to the empty island of Aiwa, and from thence made their way to Oneata Island and took shelter there. And all the Levuka men of to-day are sprung from those who escaped thus to Oneata Island.

"Thus did Rasolo end his wanderings, and lived on to a great age in peace at Lakeba, and was buried at Korovusa.

"This is the story of Rasolo, sir, who was the first to be made both 'Tui Nayau' and 'Sau,'" said the old man. "But there is one other small thing perhaps you may wish to know. The people of Nayau to this day have it in their minds that their 'Tui Nayau' never left them, and that the real Tui Nayau is still with them —though they are fain to acknowledge the Chief of Lakeba as 'Tui Nayau,' since they are now but a weak people and dare not openly say otherwise. And they account for it in this way:

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173 "The men of Lakeba—so they say—were very anxious to get the 'Tui Nayau' to go and live at Lakeba. So they made a great *volau*[1] to Nayau, bringing with them many goods, carved wooden bowls, and yams, and fine mats from Ono. And in return, at the sharing out, they took away much *gatu*[2] and dried fish, and *wali wali*[3] from Nayau; but two brothers, Qilaiso and another whose name I know not, would take nothing. And these two went to the Tui Nayau and asked him to go with them to Lakeba and be their chief, and that that alone should be their share of the *volau*. But Tui Nayau would not listen to them, but said that they should take a basketful of the soil of Nayau instead, as a sign for the Tui Nayau.

So they agreed to this, and returning to Lakeba they landed at Navutoka and there hid this *qele tabu*.[4] And then they built a temple over the spot, and after that went up to the town and spread the tale that they had captured the 'Tui Nayau,' but that he would not show himself to the people, being too sacred, but would reside only in this temple.

"But this, sir, is of course but a tale of the men of Nayau. All know that the Tui Nayau henceforth came to live at Lakeba and his sons are here to this day."

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[1] Ceremonial visitation with interchange of gifts.
[2] Native cloth. [3] Coco-nut oil. [4] Sacred earth.

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So ended the tale of old Roko Malani; and after a little further talk he departed, erect and with firm tread, a splendid instance of the courtly old native of the Lau Islands—a true chief, who could proudly recount the doings of his ancestors directly back for ten generations; and who, even in these modern times, retained the complete respect of his people.

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Printed by Jarrold & Sons, Ltd., Norwich, England.